

PLATFORM OF THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME LIBERATION COUNCIL

Adopted by the Founding Congress of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council /UHVR/ in July 1944

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I

1. The Ukrainian national liberation movement, the creation of the Independent Ukrainian State, and the struggle for its consolidation in the years 1917-1921 enhanced national consciousness and vitalized the political activism of the Ukrainian masses.

The fall of the Ukrainian state as a result of foreign invasion, made possible by insufficient internal political unity among the Ukrainian national forces, made it easier for foreigners to rule Ukraine. This rule has been marked by unparalleled oppression, mass plunder of the Ukrainian people, the return of Ukrainian peasants and workers to veritable serfdom, and brutal exploitation and annihilation of millions of people by hunger and terror. The dreadful and bloody ravage that the Ukrainian people has suffered for 25 years has taught it that no foreign political and social system can serve its interests and that the sole prerequisite and guarantee of the normal existence and spiritual welfare of the masses is national sovereignty.

2. The present war between two totalitarian powers -- Moscow-Bolshevik and German-Hitlerite imperialisms-- is being waged for the possession, first and foremost, of Ukrainian territories, which are viewed as a basis for ruling Eastern Europe, and even the whole of Europe. Both these powers are irrevocably opposed to Ukrainian statehood. Both uphold the policy of total, colonial exploitation of Ukraine and its population. Wresting from the Ukrainian people all its material and economic means, these two powers are relentlessly liquidating leading Ukrainian national forces, destroying national culture and the national consciousness of the masses, and colonizing the land with foreign

settlers, while simultaneously exterminating the Ukrainian population or deporting it beyond the borders of Ukraine.

3. This war, however, is also weakening our enemies and leading them to social and political disintegration. This disintegration is creating conditions that are conducive to the waging of a liberation struggle by enslaved peoples and that will facilitate their ultimate victory.

4. Taking this into account, it is imperative:

- a) to safeguard the Ukrainian people and its leading cadres from physical annihilation in the maelstrom of the total war now being waged;
- b) to lead the Ukrainian people into battle for its liberation and independent sovereign statehood.

The realization of these goals requires the formation of a single all-Ukrainian national front composed of all existing Ukrainian national forces that are fighting for a sovereign Ukrainian state, and a single governing center.

Therefore, acting upon the initiative of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army /UPA/, which formed in the course of the Ukrainian people's armed struggle against the plunder and violence committed against the peaceful Ukrainian population by the occupational forces, representatives of all Ukrainian territories and all Ukrainian political bodies have joined to form an all-Ukrainian governing body called the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council /UHVR/.

II

The Aims and Tasks of the UHVR

1. To unify and coordinate the activity of all the independist liberation forces of the Ukrainian people in all parts of Ukraine and abroad in a national-liberation struggle against all enemies of the Ukrainian people, and especially against the Moscow-Bolshevik and German-

Hitlerite imperialisms, and to create a Ukrainian Independent United State /USSD/.

2. To define the ideological and programmatic principles governing the Ukrainian people's struggle for liberation.

3. To direct the national-liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people until such time as national independence is won and the organs of independent state rule in Ukraine are established.

4. To represent, as the supreme all-Ukrainian center, the ongoing political struggle of the Ukrainian people inside and outside Ukraine.

5. To bring into being the first Ukrainian government and to convene the first Ukrainian all-national representation.

III

Fundamental Ideological and Programmatic Principles

The preservation of a nation's life, of national unity and culture is the foremost and highest goal of any healthy national organism. National sovereignty is the principal guarantee of the preservation of the existence and normal growth of a nation and of the welfare of its people.

Therefore, the Ukrainian nation must at this time devote all of its energies to the attainment and establishment of an independent state.

All politically active elements must consolidate their efforts in the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state, setting aside any contentious issues, which, without the realization of an independent state, are unrealistic in any case.

The struggle for an independent national state can be successful only if it is waged independently of the political influence of outside forces.

On this basis, the UHVR proclaims that the principles that govern its activity are as follows:

1. The UHVR is striving toward the restoration of the Ukrainian Independent United State on all territories belonging to the Ukrainian people by means of revolutionary struggle against all enemies of the independent statehood of the Ukrainian people, and especially against the Bolshevik and German occupational forces, and in collaboration with all supporters of such independence.

2. The UHVR has been created on the principle of complete political independence of its goals from all outside influences.

3. The UHVR unites all leading political elements, irrespective of their ideological convictions or political affiliation, who uphold the political sovereignty of the Ukrainian state and the political independence of the goals of Ukrainian liberation.

4. In order to unify the Ukrainian national-liberation forces in the struggle for a Ukrainian Independent United State, the UHVR has adopted the following social and political platform which guarantees:

- a) a popular democratic mode of determining the political system in the Ukrainian state through general popular representation;
- b) freedom of thought, freedom of opinion, and freedom of belief;
- c) the development of Ukrainian national culture;
- d) a just social order without class oppression and exploitation;
- e) true justice and equality before the law for all citizens;
- f) civil rights for all national minorities in Ukraine;
- g) equal rights to education for all citizens;
- h) free choice of employment for all citizens, regulated in accordance with the needs and requirements of the nation as a whole;
- i) free choice of manner in which land is utilized, with stipulated minimum and maximum portions of land in individual cultivation;
- j) socialization of essential natural resources: land, forests, water, and minerals accompanied by the transfer of agricultural lands to farmers for permanent use;

k) nationalization of all heavy industry and transport; the transfer of all light and food industry to cooperative associations; the right to form cooperatives among small manufacturers;

l) free enterprise within limits designated by the law;

m) the right to work as independent artisans and the right to form private artisan shops and enterprises;

n) the right to work for both manual and mental workers and the safeguarding of workers' interests by social legislation.

5. The UHVR will wage its fight for the Ukrainian Independent United State in alliance with all enslaved peoples of Europe and Asia who are fighting for their liberation and who recognize Ukraine's right to political independence.

6. The UHVR is striving for an understanding and amicable relations with all of Ukraine's neighbors based on the principle of mutual recognition of each people's right to sovereign statehood within the given people's ethnographic borders.

Ukraine, July 15, 1944